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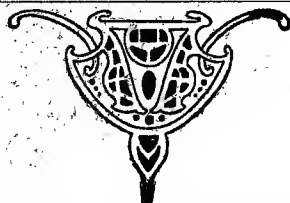


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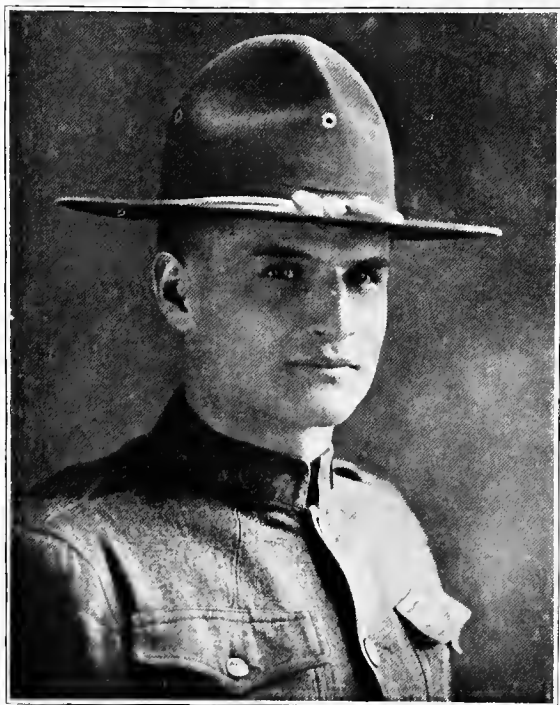
THE TRUTH ABOUT BULGARIA



BY A. T. CHRISTOFF

Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! True Freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand to be
Earnest to make others free!

—James Russell Lowell



HENRY CHRISTO CHRISTOFF

(Candidate-Officer)

34th Training Battery, Camp Taylor, Ky.

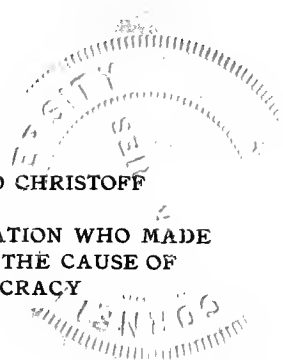
Born Bansko, Macedonia, July 10, 1896.

Lost his life by an accident while performing his duty at
Camp Taylor, Ky., Dec. 8, 1918.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BULGARIA



IN MEMORY
OF
OUR SON, HENRY CHRISTO CHRISTOFF
AND
ALL YOUNG MEN OF EVERY NATION WHO MADE
THE SUPREME SACRIFICE IN THE CAUSE OF
LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY



FOREWORD.

Many thousands of our boys made the supreme sacrifice. Millions more were ready to do the same. These boys were idealists. They sacrificed themselves for democracy, so that freedom, justice and peace might reign upon the earth. That no people should be left under the oppression of other people, simply because they lack the brute power to resist such oppression. Will not the blood of our noble sons cry out against us if we leave the unfortunate Macedonians under a yoke incomparably worse than that of the Turk?

If the reading of this pamphlet does not bring the conviction that the great bulk of the Macedonian population is Bulgar, and therefore should be allowed to unite with their brothers of Free Bulgaria; will not the brief recital of cruel oppression practiced upon them by Greece and Servia arouse our holy indignation and make us insist before the Governments of America, France and England that Macedonia be created into a free and independent country, where the people can exercise their God-given right to mould their own destinies?

The writer has been a witness and a participant in most of the events referred to in this booklet and could write his story without quoting anybody. However, not wishing to be criticized as partial to the country of his birth, he considered it prudent to quote authorities whom nobody can accuse of partiality. **"Bulgaria and Her People,"** by Prof. W. S. Monroe, Page Co., Boston; and **"Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars,"** Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C., have been freely quoted. These books are the result of the most painstaking investigations of men who have a world reputation for intelligence, impartiality and integrity of character, representing all the Great Powers of Europe and the United States.

Kansas City, Kansas

A. T. CHRISTOFF.

The Truth About Bulgaria.

WHO ARE THE BULGARIANS?

"The Bulgarians, a Turanian race, akin to the Tatars, Huns, Petchenegs and Finns, made their appearance on the banks of the Pruth in the latter part of the Seventh century. They were a horde of wild horsemen, fierce and barbarous, practicing polygamy, and governed despotically by their **Khans** (chiefs) and **Boyars** or **Bolyars** (nobles). Their original abode was the tract between the Ural mountains and the Volga, where the Kingdom of Great (or Black) Bulgaria existed down to the Thirteenth century. In 679, under their Khan Asparukh (or Isperikh), they crossed the Danube, and, after subjugating the Slavonic population of Moesia, advanced to the gates of Constantinople and Salonica. * * * The invading horde was not numerous, and during the next two centuries it became gradually merged in the Slavonic population. Like the Franks in Gaul the Bulgars gave their name and a political organization to the more civilized race which they conquered, but adopted its language, customs and local institutions, not a trace of the Ugrian or Finnish element is to be found in the Bulgarian speech. The complete assimilation of a conquering race may be illustrated by many parallels.¹ The Bulgarians, therefore, are that portion of the Slavonic race, which is found till the present time in Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia.

The Christian religion was officially adopted in Bulgaria in 964, through Bysantia. "Morally, Bulgaria was slowly but surely undermined by its intercourse with the Bysantine empire. The nobles and the priesthood were most affected by this sinister influence, and it is noticeable that in the old as in the new Bulgaria the ablest men have usually sprung from the virgin soil of the peasantry."²

The Bulgarians have a very interesting history before their subjugation by the Turks, but its recital is of no importance for our present discussion.

1—Encyclopædia Britanica, 11th Edition, Vol. IV, p. 779.

FIVE CENTURIES OF A DOUBLE YOKE.

In 1398 the subjugation of Bulgaria by the Turks was completed. The five centuries that separate the fall of Bulgaria and her liberation in 1878 are justly considered as the dark ages of Bulgarian history. "For five hundred years the Bulgars bore the double yoke of Turkish political oppression and Greek ecclesiastical tyranny." ³

The Turks laid waste the country. Butchered the flower of the nation. Some of the nobles embraced Mohammedanism to escape death. The choicest land was confiscated and given to the Turkish nobles. The Bulgarians were practically made serfs. The finest looking boys were taken to Constantinople to replenish the ranks of the janissaries. These became the scourge of their own people. The fairest maidens were carried away to the harems to satisfy the lusts of the Turkish nobles. The country was flooded by Moslem desperadoes, who exacted the most appetizing dinners from the Bulgarian population, and departing demanded the host to pay them money for the wear and tear of their teeth. All kinds of taxes were collected. The farmer was obliged to pay a tax for every goat, sheep, pig, cow, steer, horse, hive of bees, land tax (emlyak), and then the tenth part of the produce of the land (ushur), income tax (tedjaret), road tax, and a tax (from cradle to the grave) for exemption from military service (bedel). Highways were in a deplorable condition; and on account of brigands, travelling was extremely dangerous. Even in his own county a man had to have a sort of passport (teskere). Bribery was brought to perfection. The Christian Bulgarian had no human rights. His testimony in court, if contradicted by a Moslem, was not valid. The Christian must stand when a Turk passes by. Performing labor for the government, as building roads, transporting military material, moving officials from one city to another, and similar services, without pay (angare) was very common. Bands of brigands carried away flocks and herds. The Christians were not

2, 3—Bulgaria and Her People, Will S. Monroe, p.p. 25, 26.

allowed to carry firearms. The churches, built only by special firman from the Sultan, were low, very often mere basements, and walled around so as not to be seen from the street. No bells were allowed to call the faithful to worship.

"But the political and economic bondage of the Turks was scarcely less irksome than the religious and intellectual bondage of the Greeks. The entire spiritual government of the Bulgars was turned over to the Greek Phanariotes of Constantinople, for handsome financial consideration, of course! Less than a year after the fall of Tirnovo the venerable Patriarch Eumenius was expelled and the Bulgarian See was subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Greek bishops displaced Bulgarian bishops. Bibles in the Slavonic tongue were replaced by the Scriptures in Greek. All offices within the church were for sale, and we hear of Greek barbers and restaurant keepers holding posts as bishops; and the ecclesiastical rulers from Constantinople, like the political, having paid dearly for their offices, had to recoup themselves at the expense of their parishioners. 'The art of extortion among Greek bishops and priests,' wrote a contemporary German traveller in Bulgaria 'has been reduced to a system, so that between Greek ecclesiastics and Turkish governors the lot of the Bulgarian peasant is a hard one.' The Greek liturgy replaced the Slavonic throughout the country, and all Bulgarian books and manuscripts were committed to the flames. So late as the year 1823 the metropolitan Greek Phanariot Hilarion, in repairing the cathedral at Tirnovo, discovered a closed chamber that contained numerous relics and the ancient libraries of the Bulgarian patriarchs, including the library of Eumenius. The relics he sold in Rumania, and the Bulgarian books and manuscripts he solemnly committed to the flames.⁴ Schools such as existed in the country, were conducted by Greek priests; the Greek alphabet and Greek books were used, and the Kyrillik alphabet of the Bulgarians was entirely forgotten. 'The Greek

4—*Histoire de la Bulgarie*. By R. P. Guérin Sonceon. Paris, 1913, p. 480.

clergy ended what the Turks began,' remarks William Miller, and he adds, 'but the spiritual tyranny of the Phanariotes was even worse than the political tyranny of the Turks. For the Turks were not bigots, the Phanariotes were.' " 5

"The Phanariot Hierarchy, ignorant of the language and the customs of the people, not caring for their needs and moreover, despising them, plundered the Bulgarians in every way, and to deprive them even of the consciousness of their condition, according to the spirit of the Turkish government—kept the people in ignorance, destroyed everything that reminded them of their nationality, annihilated the Slavic church services, introducing the unintelligible Greek liturgy. * * * Was destroying Slavic books and manuscripts. * * * The rapacity of the Phanariotes knew no limit; the slavery and the ignorance of the people were complete.

"* * * If anyone succeeded to attain to a more human city life, he ceased to be a Bulgarian and became a Greek, for the Bulgarian was not worthy to live a city life; this was permitted only to the Greek. The Bulgarian ought to remain a peasant, born for heavy labor. * * *

"Truly, the Patriarchate of Ohrid was still existing, which could, if it wished, become for the Bulgarians a moral center and support, but in the XVIII century it was only in name Bulgarian, but in fact its Hierarchs since long ago were Greeks. At last, the Phanariotes did not wish to leave even this doubtful reminder of Bulgarian antiquity and in 1767 the independent church of Ohrid was destroyed.

"* * * The Bulgarians did not exist as a nation. They were only a crowd of oppressed, tortured and destroyed people. The very word *narode* (a nation) was lost, and substituted by the word "*hora*," taken from the Greek and meaning villagers, predestined to all kinds of heavy labor. * * * " 6

"* * * The Phanariot clergy—unscrupulous, ra-

5—Bulgaria and Her People. Will S. Monroe, p.p. 27-29.

6—History of Slavic Literature, by Pipin and Spasovich, (In Russian).

pacious and corrupt—succeeded in monopolizing the higher ecclesiastical appointments and filled the parishes with Greek priests, whose schools, in which Greek was exclusively taught, were the only means of instruction open to the population. By degrees Greek became the language of the upper classes in all the Bulgarian towns, the Bulgarian language was written in Greek characters, and the illiterate peasants, though speaking the vernacular, called themselves Greeks.”⁷

“So completely did the identity of the Bulgarian nation seem lost that foreign travelers in the region spoke of them as a kind of Greeks, and down to the Crimean war any Bulgar lucky enough to claim wealth and education was likely to describe himself as a Greek.”⁸

“The Hellenization of Bulgaria was never quite complete, although the Slavic language was no longer taught, it continued to be spoken by the peasants. Mr. Brailsford, in his authoritative work on the **Races of Macedonia**, attributes this persistence of the Bulgarian language to the failure of the Greeks to make any sort of provision for the education of Bulgarian women. He writes concerning the growth of Greek influence after the advent of the Turks in Bulgaria: ‘It depended almost entirely upon the church, and it must have been immeasurably stronger in the Balkan peninsula after the coming of the Turks than ever before. It embraced not only Macedonia, but Rumania, Bulgaria, and even Servia as well. The few Slavs in the interior who were educated at all were taught to regard themselves as Greeks, and the very tradition of their origin was in danger of dying out. Two fatal errors alone wrecked what was nothing less than a scheme for the Hellenizing of the Balkan peninsula. The women were not educated; and for all the Greek schools might do, every Slav child learned his own despised tongue at his mother’s knee. The peasants were also neglected. The Greeks regarded them with

7—Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition, Vol. IV, p. 781.

8—The Roots of the War, by Wm. Stearns Davis. The Century Co., p. 72.

unmeasured and stupid contempt which a quick town-bred people instinctively feels for a race of cultivators. They were barbarians, beasts of burden, men only 'in the catalogue.' The Greeks denied the rights of men to the Slav peasants and refused to accept them as brethren. The consequence was that the peasants never quite lost their sense of separation, and a certain dim consciousness of nationality remained, rooted in injuries and hatred. The nemesis came at the beginning of the nineteenth century." 9

THE AWAKENING.

The annihilation of the Bulgarian nationality seemed to be complete. The town Bulgarians considered it an insult to be called Bulgarians. In the peasant parlance, the word **Greek** and **townsman** were synonymous; also the words **Grkinia** (Greek lady) and **Kokona** (lady) were synonymous with **townswoman**. The Bulgarian Gospodin Ivan (Mr. Ivan) was changed to Kyr Yanaki, Gospodja Maria (Mrs. Maria) to Kokona Mariola, etc. **Vurgaros Hondrokephalos** (block-headed Bulgarian) was a very common saying in those times. Of the nearly five million Bulgarians in the world in those dark days, the number of men who could read and write the Bulgarian language and were not ashamed of their nationality was very small.

In the Eastermost of the three fingers of the Chalcidian peninsula, only a few miles southeast of Salonica, each of the three Slavic nations, belonging to the Eastern Orthodox church, had and still has a monastery—Zograph (Bulgarian), Hillendar (Servian) and Panteleymon (Russian). In the middle of the XVIII century a Bulgarian from the diocese of Samokov was the Abbot of the Servian monastery. His brother Paissy was the assistant Abbot. The Greek and Servian monks insulted constantly Father Paissy, who was not ashamed of his nationality, that the Bulgarians had no history. According to his own testimony his heart was "consuming itself with zeal and sorrow" for his nation. He travelled extensively and labored hard to collect material for his history.

9—Bulgaria and Her People, by Will S. Monroe, p.p. 29, 30.

One happy day in 1762 he penned the words "Konets i Bogu Slava." (Finis, Glory to God). The Bulgarian people now had a history. His book was entitled, "History of the Bulgarian People with Accounts of Their Tsars and Saints." In the introduction, among other things, Father Paissy says: "I saw many Bulgarians who go after a strange language and strange customs and ridicule their own tongue. For this reason I wrote here, for those scoffers of their own fathers, who do not love their own nationality and language, I wrote that they may know. * * * They turn to strange politics, and care not for the Bulgarian tongue, but learn to read and speak Greek, and are ashamed to call themselves Bulgarians. * * * O thou unwise and foolish one, why art thou ashamed to call thyself a Bulgarian, and readest not thine own tongue, and speakest it not. Have not the Bulgarians had a kingdom and a commonwealth? But thou sayest the Greeks are wiser and more political, for that reason, thou sayest, it is better to side with the Greeks. But see, foolish one, there are many nations wiser and more glorious than the Greeks, has any Greek left his tongue and learning, and nationality, as thou, foolish one, who leavest thine, and hast no benefit from the Greek wisdom and politics. Thou Bulgarian, be not deceived, know thy nation and tongue, and learn thine own tongue; better is the Bulgarian simplicity and innocence." Then he continues to prove that the Greeks are cunning, proud speculators, and intriguers—their superiority to the Bulgarians consists in these; but they have no family or civic virtues. Their mind thinks of unjust rapacity, and contempt of the simple Bulgarians. True, the Bulgarians are now only laborers and shepherds, but it is Greek treachery that brought them to this, argues Father Paissy.

This book was copied secretly throughout the country—from Hillendar to the Danube, and from the shores of the Black Sea to the Albanian mountains. The Bulgarian nation became a nation again. Bulgaria had a history.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION.

The spark struck by Father Paissy in a few years

developed into a full conflagration. The Bulgarian nationality was not dead. It was only asleep. Schools were springing up over Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia. The Phanariotes saw their hopes of Hellenizing the Balkan peninsula, the bulk of whose people were Bulgarians, threatened with failure. They turned loose all their low passions against the school masters. They assassinated many of them, others were accused before the Turkish government as enemies of the state and cast in jail, where dampness, stench, vermin and torture ended their lives as martyrs for the national cause. Even, as in the case of Milladinoff Brothers of Struga, when the Turkish government prevailed upon by European diplomats, would have set them free, the Greek Hierarchy, bribing the Turkish jailers, sent them poison, and they were found dead in their cells the morning they were to be released. But the bitter cup of suffering for the national heroes did not stop the movement. When one dropped the fight, ten were ready to resume it.

The national leaders saw that the Greek Hierarchy was the deadly enemy of the Bulgarian nationality. As long as they submitted to the spiritual authority of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople he claimed before the world that they were Greeks. A spiritual war was started for an independent Bulgarian church. The people of Macedonia took a most active part in this fight against Hellenism. The Phanariotes used their long-tried methods of intrigue and calumny against the Bulgarian leaders. The Turkish prisons were actually full of the flower of the Bulgarian people. Russia and other powers were begged to help induce the Sultan to recognize the independence of the Bulgarian church. They turned a deaf ear. Then a delegation was sent to Rome to negotiate with the Pope a union of the Bulgarian church with Rome. Kukush and Todorak, only a few miles north of Salonica, turned Roman Catholic. Other towns followed their example. Russia was scared that the Eastern Orthodox Church of the Balkans will perish. The tsar brought pressure to bear upon the Sultan. On Feb. 28, 1870, the latter issued a firman "establishing the Bulgarian exarchate, with jurisdiction over

fifteen dioceses, including Nish, Pirot and Veles, the other dioceses in dispute to be added to these in case two-thirds of the Christian population so desired." 10 The Greek Patriarch pronounced his "Anathema" against the new church and excommunicated its membership from the Holy Universal Eastern Orthodox Church. Community after community added themselves to their national church. Macedonia was not behind Thrace and Moesia in this great Bulgarian national movement. The Greek clergy, in their desperate struggle to hold the people from joining their national church, among other low means, went so far as to deny the Omniscience of God, by telling the ignorant people that Almighty God did not know the Bulgarian language, that His linguistic ability did not go beyond Hebrew, Greek and Latin, in which tongues was written the accusation of Jesus on the Cross. The Bulgarian people had only five years in which to undo, to a great extent, the results of the most infamous Greek propaganda of five centuries.

When some of the national leaders were fighting this war against the Phanariotes, others were canvassing the country as Apostles of Freedom, preaching the Gospel of armed revolt against the Turkish misrule. In this movement also Macedonia took a very active part. Small outbreaks here and there excited the Turks to atrocities, the equal of which has not been recorded in history. European diplomacy failing to convince the Sultan of the wisdom of introducing reforms, the tsar was given a free hand. On April 24, 1877, Russia declared war on Turkey. The campaign was over in less than a year. Bulgaria emerged a free nation from five centuries of the most terrible political and spiritual bondage in the history of the human race.

THE TREATIES OF SAN STEFANO AND BERLIN.

"The victorious advance of the Russian army to Constantinople was followed by the treaty of San Stefano (March 3rd, 1878), which realized almost to the full the national aspirations of the Bulgarian race. All

10—Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition, Vol. IV, p. 781.

the provinces of European Turkey in which the Bulgarian element predominated were now included in an autonomous principality, which extended from the Black Sea to the Albanian Mountains, and from the Danube to the Ægean, enclosing Ochrida, the ancient capital of the Shishman's, Dibra and Kastoria, as well as the districts of Vrania and Pirot, and possessing a Mediterranean port at Kavala. The Dobruja, notwithstanding its Bulgarian population, was not included in the new state, being reserved as compensation to Roumania for the Russian annexation of Bessarabia; Adrianople, Salonica and the Chalcidian peninsula were left to Turkey. The area thus delimited constituted three-fifths of the Balkan Peninsula, with a population of 4,000,000 inhabitants. The great powers, however, anticipating that this extensive territory would become a Russian dependency, intervened; and on the 13th of July of the same year was signed the treaty of Berlin, which in effect divided the 'Big Bulgaria' of the treaty of San Stefano into three portions. The limits of the principality of Bulgaria as then defined, and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, have been already described; ¹¹ the remaining portions, including almost the whole of Macedonia, and part of the Vilayet of Adrianople, was left under Turkish administration. * * * Vrania, Pirot and Nish were given to Servia, and the transference of Dobruja to Roumania was sanctioned. This artificial division of the Bulgarian nation could scarcely be regarded as possessing elements of permanence." ¹²

The English prime minister Beaconsfield looked on the provisions of the treaty of San Stefano "as insuring a dangerous Russian preponderance in the Balkan peninsula. He vigorously insisted that the whole treaty should be revised by a general European congress. For a time war between Russia and England seemed impending; and Austria was also discontented. The Congress finally met at Berlin in the summer, and succeeded in making a treaty which was accepted. * * *

11—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. IV, p. 772.

12—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Edition, Vol. IV, p. 782.



A. F. CHADSTOFF

1. The Bulgaria of San Stefano was far from including all the Bulgarian people. The white region toward Constantinople is rurally solidly Bulgar, and also the great bulk of its urban population. Dobrudja is almost 100% Bulgar. The same is true for many miles beyond the rest of its borders.

"English jealousy of Russia thus severed Bulgaria, which was one of race and sympathy, and at the same time left under Turkish yoke the Christians of Macedonia. The latter provision was simply a calamity for the unfortunate Macedonians." 13

"But the readjustments were made very unskillfully, with far greater care on the part of the opponents of Russia to prevent the wide expansion of her power than to make any redistribution of the Balkan lands that would meet the reasonable demands of national hopes and international justice." 14

"Nobody left Berlin really satisfied, save Beaconsfield, and he was to die in 1881—too soon to realize the imperfection of his vaunted achievement." 15

"English responsibility in these new complications and difficulties has been set forth by the Duke of Argyle: 'We, therefore, need not linger over the blow struck at the idea of a federation of the Balkan nationalities when Bulgaria—one and indivisible—according to the treaty of San Stefano,—was divided into three by the treaty of Berlin. The whole course of succeeding events was the result of this grave error. The most recent events lie there in germ.'

"The reunion of free Bulgaria of the still vassal Oriental Rumelia, and as the immediate consequence thereof, the Serbo-Bulgarian war of 1885, the growing rivalry between the nationalities in a still subject Macedonia, the new propaganda of the secondary nationalities, the isolation of Greece in its 1897 attempt, the fetishism of the *status quo* mitigated and corrected as it was by the intrigues of the powers, the miscarriage of the hypocritical plan of reforms in Macedonia in 1907-1908, the *intermezzo* of the Turkish revolution with its failure to solve an insoluble problem, then the greatness and decline of the Balkan "Alliance"—all were the natural results of the mistake of Berlin,—a mistake which now everybody sees without the power to correct." 16

13—Europe in the XIX Century, by H. P. Judson, p.p. 274-275.

14, 15—The Roots of the War, by Wm. S. Davis, and others, p.p. 93, 97.

16—Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars. p. 40.

WHY BULGARIA JOINED THE CENTRAL POWERS?

The writer realizes that in trying to answer this question he is encountered by a strong prejudice against Bulgaria, because the powers she joined made themselves obnoxious to the world by their aims and their methods in the world war. Dr. Lyman Abbot, the venerable editor of the Outlook, in a letter to a friend of mine, who has been a missionary in the Balkans for nearly thirty years, states: "My sympathy would naturally have been with Bulgaria because my wife's uncle, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, was the first president and practically the founder of Robert College in Constantinople, and through him I have had personal acquaintance with Bulgaria, and the character of her civilization and its people, but when Bulgaria joined the band of brigands who have been devastating Europe, and joined them because she could get better terms from them than from the Allies, joined them because theirs was, to use your own phrase 'the side that showed her friendship' she necessarily alienated all those who believed in justice and liberty, and became tainted with the evil reputation brought upon the Central Powers by the lawless criminality of Germany in Belgium and France." The editor of "The Worlds Work," in a note on "The Old Bulgaria and the New," says: "The last nation to join the Central Powers in their onslaught on the liberties of mankind was Bulgaria. Bulgaria's adhesion to the Germanic cause was one of the most shameful episodes in modern history. It is doubtful, indeed, if all history contains any proceeding more cynical and more base. The story of the Bulgarian nation supplied the reason for assuming that Bulgaria's sympathies would inevitably go with the Entente. * * * In all probability the sympathies of the Bulgarian masses, like the sympathies of the Greek electorate, were with the Entente." 17 General Smuts, in his message to South Wales, classes Bulgaria with Ger-

17—The World's Work, November, 1918, p. 12.

many, Austria, Turkey and the Devil.¹³ In talking with many intelligent American friends the writer finds that the above quoted sentiments are quite general in America, and, perhaps, more so in the British Empire. "Our sympathies," they say, "were with Bulgaria during the Balkan wars. We knew she was held up by her false allies, but when she joined Germany she made a great mistake."

Far be it from the writer to try to advocate the justice of Germany's and Austria's cause. We all know what they wanted, and what they did. But he asks the reader to suppress his feelings, and use only his reasoning power, in considering the influences that pushed Bulgaria towards the Central Powers.

What follows are the writer's own observations. He is not posing as an interpreter or a spokesman of official Bulgaria. He is writing as an American citizen, whose native country happened to be Bulgaria, and perhaps has studied events in connection with that country, with a greater interest than a native-born citizen.

Look at the map where Bulgaria of San Stefano is shown. Look again at the same map how that Bulgaria was unmercifully cut to pieces by the treaty of Berlin. Why was Bulgaria cut up like that? Why was Dobruja given to Rumania? Was it because the inhabitants of Dobruja were not Bulgarians? No. The author of the article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives us the bare facts. "The Dobruja, notwithstanding its Bulgarian population, was not included in the new state, being reserved as compensation to Rumania for the Russian annexation of Bessarabia." Why were the districts of Pirot, Nish, Leskovac and Vrania given to Serbia? Was it because the population was Servian? No. It was simply because Beaconsfield imagined that a Great Bulgaria, so near Constantinople, would become a Russian dependency and thus greatly endanger British interests in the Near East. Why was Macedonia and the largest portion of Thrace left to the Turk? Was it because there was any doubt as to the character of the population? No. But because

18—A speech delivered at Tonapandy, Rhonda, on Oct. 29, 1917.

a Great Bulgaria was not in the interests of England and Austria. Why was Eastern Rumelia created? Surely not because the diplomats at Berlin had any doubt as to the kind of people who lived there, but simply to mutilate the body of Bulgaria, and make her harmless in their future plans. "A brief consideration of these provisions will show that they were not dictated by any sincere desire to arrive at a lasting and satisfactory settlement of the Balkan troubles. Each nation in the congress was intent upon securing for itself every possible advantage, irrespective of the rights, wishes, or welfare of the Balkan people. Great Britain, Russia, and Austria-Hungary were all equally at fault. Great Britain, in fact, nine days before the congress met, concluded a treaty with Turkey whereby, in return for the permission to occupy the Turkish island of Cyprus she pledged herself to maintain, by the use of force, if necessary, the integrity of the Sultan's remaining possessions in Asia. Furthermore, Great Britain was a party to the crime of thrusting the Macedonian Christians back under the Turkish yoke, because she believed her own interests demanded a Turkey at the Dardanelles strong enough to repulse the encroachments of Russia. Austria-Hungary's motives in occupying Bosnya and Herzegovina were wholly selfish. * * * The short-sightedness and selfishness of the diplomats at Berlin bore fruits in the continuous unrest of later years in the Balkan region—a condition which ultimately precipitated the most terrible of European wars." 19 "This artificial division of the Bulgarian nation could scarcely be regarded as possessing elements of permanence." 20 "English jealousy of Russia severed Bulgaria, which was one of race and sympathy." 21 "Bulgaria—one and indivisible—according to the treaty of San Stefano—was divided into three by the treaty of Berlin." 22

19—The History of Europe from 1862-1914, by Lieutenant-Colonel L. H. Holt, U. S. Army, and Captain A. W. Chilton, U. S. Army, professors in U. S. M. A., p.p. 214-215,

20—Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, Vol. IV, p 782.

21—Europe in the XIX Century, by H. P. Judson, p. 275.

22—Report of the International Commission, p. 40.

At Berlin Bulgaria was crucified, mostly at the insistence of Beaconsfield, the prime minister of England, then the friend of Turkey. The acquisition of the Turkish island of Cyprus by England, always has been considered by educated Bulgarians as Judas' thirty silver pieces for the betrayal and crucifixion of Bulgaria. Compared with Beaconsfield, Judas has been considered a gentleman, because after his crime he had conscience enough to go and hang himself. It is recorded that the Russo-Polish Princess Radzivill met Beaconsfield at a brilliant reception the night that the news of the Cyprus convention was made public. As he wandered among the throng of buzzing, criticizing, yet admiring generals and diplomats, the princess asked the prime minister, "What are you thinking of?" "I am not **thinking** at all," replied Beaconsfield magnificently, "I am merely enjoying myself." 23

Since that time Bulgaria has trained and kept a comparatively large army, and watching for an opportune moment to undo the crime committed in Berlin and unite her people under one government. In 1885 Eastern Rumelia united with Bulgaria. The initiative was on the part of Rumelia and not Bulgaria. Russian hatred and Servian jealousy led to the Serbo-Bulgarian war of that year. Servia wanted to preserve the balance on the Balkans and struck treacherously at Bulgaria. The war was unfortunate for the Servians themselves. In 1912, for the sake of uniting her people, who composed the great bulk of the population in Macedonia and Adrianople Vilayet, Bulgaria made an alliance with her eternal enemies, Greece and Servia. The Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 are too recent to need any recounting. Bulgaria bore the brunt of the war against Turkey. Greece and Servia engaged themselves in marching through Macedonia and occupying the territory inhabited by Bulgarians. While Bulgaria was yet busy fighting the common enemy Servia and Greece formed a secret alliance to cheat Bulgaria of her rightful claims of Macedonia. They dug trenches at the outskirts of the occupied ter-

23—The Roots of the War, by Wm. Stearns Davis, p. 93.

ritory and fortified themselves against Bulgaria. While it could not be settled who struck first, each party blaming the other, it is a settled fact that Serbia and Greece had decided to keep the territory which was inhabited by Bulgarians and already had been promised Bulgaria by her treaty with Serbia. For Serbia her own treaty was a scrap of paper. Greeks and Servians would fight, but not cede an inch to Bulgaria. They did fight. Turkey had her chance and did not pass it by. Rumania, pushed by Russia, joined Bulgaria's enemies. Exhausted by doing the lion's share of the fighting against Turkey, Bulgaria was overpowered, crushed and robbed unmercifully.

Bulgaria put against Turkey 300,000 fighting men and received 12,347 square miles of territory, with 125,000 population, and lost to Rumania 2,687 square miles, leaving her a net gain of only 9,660 square miles.

Greece put 150,000 men, gained 18,000 square miles and added to her population 1,700,000 souls.

Servia—150,000 soldiers, gained 15,000 square miles and 1,500,000 inhabitants.

This is the square deal Bulgaria received at the peace conference of Bucharest on August 10, 1913. She appealed to Christian and humanitarian Europe for sympathy and help in this terrible hold-up. The righteous diplomats of the so-called great powers turned a deaf ear to her cry of distress. Bulgaria had no friends. England, Russia and Austria-Hungary had their plans for the disposal of the "sick man's" country. It pleased them greatly to see Bulgaria, the strongest and most progressive of the Balkan nations, humiliated and dismembered.

On June 28, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the crown prince of Austria, and his consort, were assassinated at Sarajevo, Bosnya, by Pan-Servian agents. Though not a sufficient cause, yet a pretty fair excuse for Germany to plunge the world into the bloodiest war in history.

We have seen that Bulgaria had many grievances. She had an Alsace-Lorraine question with Rumania for the whole of Dobruja; another with Servia for Nish, Pirot, Vrania and Northwestern Macedonia;

still another with Greece in regard to Southwestern Macedonia; and another with Turkey for the Adrianopolis vilayet. All her neighbors had robbed her of part of her territory and people; and none of the great powers a real friend.

The great war had started. Germany broke Belgian neutrality and this drew England into the war. France had no choice, she was attacked, she had to fight. The tsar was watching for an opportunity to get even with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Turkey jumped into the fire. Italy had some grievances against Austria and deserted her former allies. Germany and Austria had no attraction for the Bulgarian people. Naturally the Bulgarians would have favored the Entente. But there was Servia on their side, after Greece, Bulgaria's worst enemy. Her treachery and breach of contract in regard to Macedonia were too recent to forget. But Bulgaria was ready to forgive and to forget, if Servia would restore the part of Macedonia which she had grabbed, and which she knew was inhabited by Bulgarians. But Servia would not cede an inch.

From an American friend who left Bulgaria in January, 1918, and who has moved among the higher circles at Sofia, the writer learns that Bulgaria made three unsuccessful approaches to join the Entente. Through the influence of Russia her moderate claims were rejected. A special Bulgarian commission was sent to Petrograd. For two months they tried in vain to obtain an audience with Tsar Nickolas II. The same commission went to London. There they had a very cordial reception, but their mission was frustrated, thanks to influences from Petrograd.

In August, 1915, Radoslavoff, the prime minister of Bulgaria, declared: "We will fight but for one end, that is to extend our frontiers until they embrace the people of our own blood, but that end must be assured us beyond all doubt. If we are asked to fight alone, we are ready. If we are asked to fight with Greece, Servia and Rumania, in a new Balkan Alliance on the side of the Allies, we say: 'Give us back our Macedonia, and we will fight in the way we can serve you best.'"

But official Russia had an eye on Constantinople.

The Russian press claimed that the Allies had promised it to her. But Constantinople would be practically useless without the adjoining territory to make the Black Sea a Russian lake, and most of that territory was Bulgaria. Therefore she must be pushed on the side of the Central Powers, so that Russia may have a good excuse to invade Bulgaria and make of her a *Zadunayskaya Gubernia* (Trans-Danubian Province). Russia was successful. She took good care that Bulgaria was not assured the support of the Entente in her endeavor to unite her people.

Servia was in great trouble. Bulgaria declared war against her, but not before ample warning that unless the grabbed Bulgarian territory was restored war would follow.

Bulgaria never declared war against England, France, Russia or Italy. It was these countries that declared war on Bulgaria. They themselves know why. Bulgaria did not sink any ships and drown innocent women and children, nor bomb the civilian population of any city in the world, and thus provoke their righteous indignation.

Bulgaria did not go into the war "against the liberties of mankind." On the contrary she went in for the liberation of her own people in Macedonia, who suffered more under Servian and Greek oppression, than under the bloody regime of Sultan Hamid.

Bulgaria did not go into the war for German autocracy or German *Mittel Europa*. She went into the war to liberate and unite her people, whom Christian Europe had unmercifully crucified for selfish ends. When Bulgaria entered the war, it was not yet a war of Democracy against Autocracy. Russia, the worst autocracy in the world, was on the side of the Allies. There is not a more democratic nation in Europe than Bulgaria. Any intelligent, unprejudiced person can find this out for himself.

Bulgaria does not cherish any ill-will against her neighbors. She is not against the national unity of the Greeks, Rumanians and Servians. All she wants from them is to restore the territory they grabbed from her and give her a chance to develop her national life.

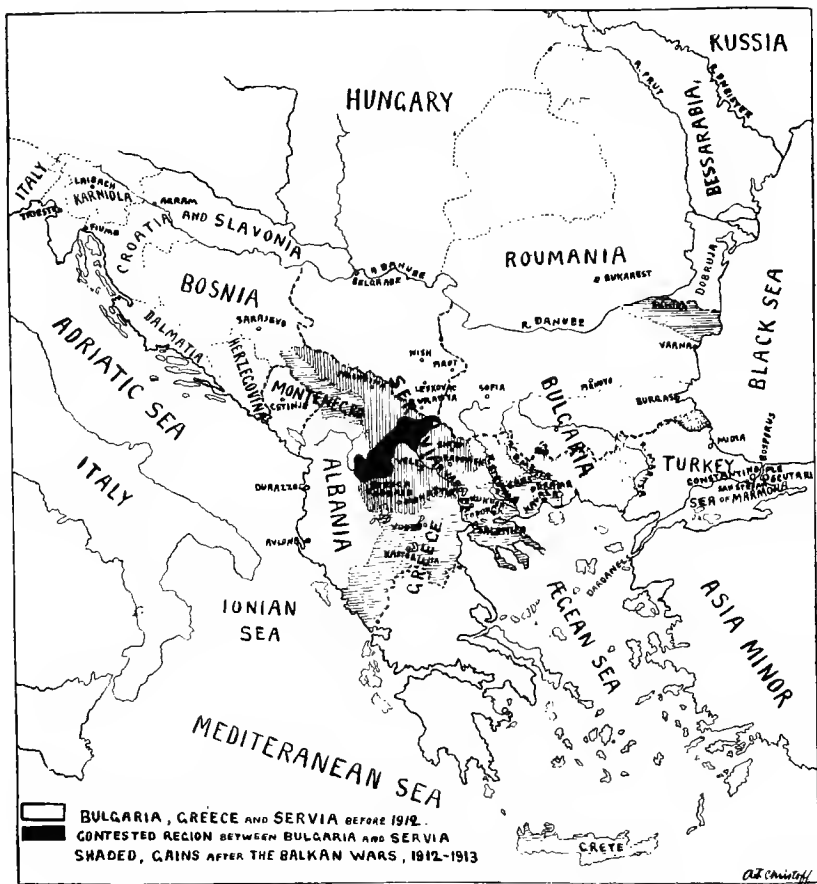
Bulgaria's enemies have accused her of atrocities and barbarism. Almost all these accusations emanate from Servian and Greek sources. We know that they are extremely biased. We also know that the Greeks and Servians are not puritanically trained to discriminate between the truth and falsehood. We are told that prisoners of war were very thin and starved when released from Bulgaria, but are the Bulgarian soldiers and her civil population very fat? The press in the allied countries published broadcast the Servian falsehood that the Bulgarians sold several thousand Servian women and girls to the Turks. How were they transported from Serbia to Turkey? In what market were they sold? What is the matter with the consuls of the neutral countries at Sofia and Constantinople? Are they asleep on the job? Why did they not inform their governments in regard to this terrible crime? In the small monthly publication, "The Balkan Immigrant," for November, 1918, Miss Mary M. Haskell, a returned missionary, says: "Have readers of the Balkan Immigrant read the tales circulating in the American press which would lead one to suppose Bulgarians to be a cruel and selfish people, not fit to exist? The American missionaries have lived in the country many years and all through the recent wars, we have traveled, we have known people of all parties and nationalities, not only in Bulgaria but in Macedonia also. At times Bulgarian soldiers have paid back their foes in their own coin, but thank God, there have been no systematized cruelties as their enemies fabricate. Time will show this, when unprejudiced men can make tours of investigation and report to the State Department."

SERVIAN CLAIMS IN MACEDONIA.

Before the treaty of Berlin, the Servian national leaders, with the exception of a few extreme Chauvinists, did not claim any portion of Macedonia to be Servian. They knew that the Slavs of that country belonged to the Bulgarian group. Their eyes were turned towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, populated with their brothers by blood, speech and sympathies; and also the sanjak of Novi Bazar, adjoining Bosnia

and Servia. In their national awakening all the Bulgarians from the Danube to the Ægean, and from the Black Sea to the Albanian Mountains acted in unison. Under Turkish misrule Moesia (Berlin Bulgaria), Thrace (Berlin Eastern Rumelia and the Adrianople Vilayet, clear to the walls of Constantinople) and Macedonia were the home of the United Bulgarian nation. In 1870 all this territory, including Pirot, Nish, Leskovac and Vrania districts, threw off the spiritual yoke of the Phanariotes. The Servians were contented to remain ecclesiastically under the Greek Patriarch. There was no compulsion on the part of anybody to induce the people to join the new church under the Bulgarian Exarch. By their free act the people of Macedonia declared to the world that they are neither Greeks nor Servians. It is a well established fact that ignorant peasants are very reluctant to join a new church, publicly "anathemized" and excommunicated by the head of the church—the Patriarch of Constantinople. Yet the people of Macedonia risked going to a very hot climate in the world to come, rather than be called Greeks in this sinful world. However, there were quite a number of communities which remained with the Phanariotes. The word "Exarchist" meant invariably a Bulgarian, while the word "Patriarchist" meant a Greek, Servian, Vlakh, Albanian or Bulgarian who submitted to the ecclesiastical authority of the Phanariotes.

By the treaty of Berlin (Art. XXV) it was decreed that "The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. The government of Austria-Hungary not desiring to undertake the administration of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar. * * * " This cut the Servians off their lawful sphere of influence and extension towards the sea, and also of the hope of ever uniting the people of their own blood. The sanjak of Novi Bazar was not pre-empted yet, but Austria had already put up the sign "Verboten." It was in the interests of Austria-Hungary to divert the attention of Servia in a different direction. "After the Berlin congress, Austria-Hungary entered into closer relations with King Milan of Servia. He signed the secret treaty of 1881, in



THE BALKANS BEFORE AND AFTER THE BALKAN WARS.

2. Bulgaria went into the alliance to free and unite her people in Macedonia and Thrace. Notice how her treacherous allies deprived her of all Macedonia. Notice also the black spot, the southern borders of which the Servians were not to cross in their territorial claims. The population of this region is solidly Bulgar. The most cruel Servian atrocities occurred there.

which (Art. 7) Austria-Hungary formally declared that she 'would not oppose, would even support Serbia against other powers in the event of the latter's finding a way of extending its southern boundary, exception being made in the case of the sanjak of Novi Bazar.' In 1889, when this treaty was renewed, Austria-Hungary promised in even clearer terms 'to aid in the extension of Serbia in the direction of the Vardar valley.' Thus at the very moment when Austria-Hungary was depriving Serbia of any possibility of westward extension, by joining the section of the Servian population inhabiting Bosnia and Herzegovina to herself, Austrian diplomacy was holding out by way of compensation, the hope of an extension toward the South, in those territories whose population had, up to 1860-1870, been universally recognized as Bulgarian, even by the Servians.

"At this period the network of Servian schools spread specially fast, thanks to the aid of the Turks, who here as elsewhere followed their habitual policy of playing off the Servian and Greek minorities against the stronger and more dangerous majority of the Bulgarian exarchists." 24

In 1896-1897 there were in Macedonia 843 Bulgarian schools, against 77 Servian schools, 1,306 Bulgarian teachers (Servian 118); 31,719 scholars in the Bulgarian schools (2,873 in the Servian); there were also 14,713 children in Bulgarian kindergartens.

"These figures show that at the close of the nineteenth century the overwhelming majority of the Slav population of Macedonia was sending its children to the exarchist Bulgarian schools." 25

Before the Balkan wars the people of free Bulgaria would have rather had Macedonia autonomous as a whole under Turkish suzerainty than independent on condition of partition between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. But the government secretly from the people signed a treaty of partition with Serbia on March 13, 1912. A highly detailed map of the contested territory was attached to the treaty. Serbia agreed not to claim any territory beyond the Southern boundary of this

24, 25—Report of the International Commission, p.p. 26, 27.

contested region. The Bulgarians were not to claim anything beyond its northern limit. The Tsar of Russia was to arbitrate the exact place of the border between Bulgaria and Servia within the limits of the contested territory. This region is roughly shown by the black patch on our map.²⁶ However, Servia treated her treaty with Bulgaria in German fashion, as a mere scrap of paper. While Bulgaria was still busy fighting the common foe, her treacherous ally, Servia, was engaged in the wholesale Servianizing of the population beyond the line which she contracted not to cross in her claims. The clergy, teachers and prominent citizens were given the choice between declaring themselves as Servians, or undergo the most barbarous treatment. The people were ordered to change the Bulgarian ending **off** in their names to the Servian **itch**; for example Ivanoff to Ivanitch. The writer will introduce a few quotations from the report of the International Commission which illustrate the oppressive measures of Servia in her endeavor to Servianize the Bulgarians of Macedonia.

The Bulgarian bishop Neophyte of Veles, said to his persecutor, the Servian Sub-Prefect: You know "What the Servian priests and school masters* are doing in the villages. They are visiting the Bulgarian villages with soldiers and forcing the people to write themselves down as Servians, drive out their Bulgarian priests and ask to have a Servian priest given them. Those who refuse to proclaim themselves Servians are beaten and tortured."²⁷

The International commission is in possession of a copy of the Servian formula of renunciation of Bulgarian nationality. This is the formula which the priests and their flocks had to address to Mr. Vincentius, the Servian Metropolitan of Uskub:

I and the flock confided to my charge by God were formerly Servian, but the terrors with which the Bulgarian **comitajis** representing the revolutionary orga-

26—An exact copy of the map of the contested territory is found on page 45 of the Report of the International Commission.

*Imported from Servia.

27—Report International Commission, p.p. 53, 54.

nization inspired us, and the violence they used toward us, compelled us and our fathers before us to turn from the patriarchate to the exarchate, thus making Bulgarians of the pure Servians we were. Thus we called ourselves Bulgars under fear of death until the arrival of our Servian army, until the moment of our liberation from the Turks. Now that we are no longer in fear of bombs, stones and bullets, we beg your Holiness, on our own behalf and on behalf of our flocks, to deign to restore us to our Holy Church of Uskub, to restore us to the faith which we have for a time betrayed through fear of death. Kissing your holy right hand, we ask you to pray to God to pardon our sin. Signed at Sopot, March 28, 1913.

This formula was sent, in Servia, by a Servian official, Daniel Tsakits, secretary of the Malinska community at Koumanovo, to the Bulgarian priest Nikolas Ivanov, with the following letter:

Father Nikolas, thou shalt sign this letter that I send thee, and after thee all the villagers of Sopot are to sign, likewise the Trstenichani, the Piestchani, the Stanevchani, and Alakintchani, who are thy parishioners. The whole to be ready by Saturday. Greeting from Daniel Tsakits, 27, III, 1913, Malino.

"Take care that those who sign do not make off."

Similar tactics were resorted to at Monastir and other places. This was simply "adding insult to injury."

After the Second Balkan war, which was very unfortunate for the Bulgarian nation, Macedonia was divided between Greece and Servia, not upon the principle of nationality, but upon the principle of robbers dividing up their booty. The martyrdom of Macedonia began. The country was put under a special law. On October 4, 1913, the Servian government issued a decree on "public security" in the recently acquired territories, which amounted to the establishment of a military dictatorship, and called forth cries of horror in the foreign press.²⁸ The full text of this document is given in the Report of the International Commission,

28—Report of the International Commission, p. 160.

p.p 160-162, and in Prof. Monroe's book, "Bulgaria and Her People," p.p. 384-391.

The treatment of the people in Servian Macedonia* aroused the indignation even of the Servian Socialist paper, Radnitchke Novine. "If the liberation of these territories is a fact, why then, is this exceptional regime established there? If the inhabitants are Servians why are they not made the equals of all the Servians; why is the constitutional rule not put in operation according to which 'All Servians are equal before the law'? If the object of the wars was unification, why is not this unification effectively recognized, and why are these exceptional ordinances created, such as can only be imposed upon conquered countries by conquerors? Moreover, our constitution does not admit of rules of this nature!" 29

"As a matter of fact, if one did not know what Macedonia is, one might guess it from the publication of these ordinances. Clearly Macedonia was not 'Old Servia' unified, since the population is treated as 'rebels in a perpetual state of revolt.'" 30

The regime of Servian anarchy is summed up in a letter published in the "**Manchester Guardian.**" The writer is a man of high character and a minister of religion—it is safer not to indicate his church. He is a native of the country, but has had a European education, and is not himself a member of the persecuted Bulgarian community:

"The situation grows more and more unbearable for the Bulgarians—a perfect hell. I had opportunities of talking with peasants from the interior. What they tell us makes one shudder. Every group of four or five villages has an official placed over it who, with six or seven underlings, men of disreputable antecedents, carries out perquisitions, and on the pretext of searching for arms steals everything that is worth taking. They indulge in flogging and robbery and violate many of the women and girls. Tri-

*—The term Servian Macedonia is just as congruent as German Belgium.

29—Report of the International Commission, p. 162.

30—Report International Commission, p. 162.

butes under the form of military contributions are arbitrarily imposed. One village of 110 families had already been fined 6,000 dinars (£T.240) and now it has to pay another 2,000 (£T.80.) The priest of the village, to avoid being sent into exile, has had to pay a ransom of £T.50. Poor emigrants returning from America have had to pay from ten to twenty napoleons for permission to go to their homes. The officials and officers carry out wholesale robberies through the customs and the army contracts. The police is all powerful, especially the secret service. Bands of Servian terrorists (comitadjis) recruited by the government, swarm all over the country. They go from village to village, and woe to anyone who dares to refuse them anything. These bands have a free hand to do as they please, in order to Serbize the population. Shepherds are forbidden to drive their flocks to pasture lest (such is the excuse) they should supply the Bulgarian bands with food. In a word, it is an absolute anarchy. We shall soon have a famine, for the Serbs have taken everything, and under present conditions no one can earn a living. Everyone would like to emigrate, but it is impossible to get permission even to visit a neighboring village." 31

Does this look like liberation? Does it show that the Macedonians are Servians?

THE GREEK CLAIMS IN MACEDONIA.

Let us examine some statistics:

The Bulgarians claim that there are in Macedonia 1,181,336 Bulgarians, 228,702 Greeks, and 700 Servians.

The Greeks claim 652,795 Greeks, 332,162 Bulgarians and no Servians.

The Servians affirm that Macedonia is inhabited by 2,048,320 Servians, 201,140 Greeks, and 57,600 Bulgarians.

The International commission from whose report we take the above figures, says: "The Bulgarian statistics alone take into account the national con-

31—Report International Commission, p. 170.

sciousness of the people themselves. The Servian calculations are generally based on the results of the study of dialects and on the identity of customs; they are therefore largely theoretic and abstract in character. The Greek calculations are even more artificial, since their ethnic standard is the influence exercised by Greek civilization on the urban population, and even the recollections and traces of classical antiquity." 32

Mr. Brancoff's statistics of Macedonia are the only ones that go into details. He says that Macedonia has 190,000 Greeks, against 1,172,132 Bulgars, not including the Pomaks (Mohammedanized Bulgarians). "The Greek population of Macedonia is confined to the southern regions, yet even here in some districts the Bulgars are in the majority. Thus the Kaza of Lerin (Florina) has 43,488 Bulgars and 110 Greeks; in the Kaza of Ochrid, with 44,432 Bulgars, there are 3,084 Vlakhs, but no Greeks whatever; the Kaza of Voden has several hundred Gypsies alongside its 31,136 Bulgars, but no Greeks. And, if in the town of Kastoria, the 4,000 Greeks outnumber the Bulgars ten to one, the entire village population is Bulgar, and the Kaza of Kastoria has 57,400 Bulgars against 11,075 Greeks. The city of Salonica with a total population of 130,000, has 20,000 Greeks and 8,000 Bulgars. But while in the city of Salonica the Greeks comprising one-sixth of the population, outnumber the Bulgars more than two to one, in the Kaza of Salonica, outside the city, the Bulgars number 25,000 and the Greeks 17,265.

"East of Salonica the Ægean coast is more Greek than Bulgar in its urban population; but, again, while in the town of Serres there are 2,488 Bulgars against 5105 Greeks, in the Kaza of Serres there are 47,560 Bulgars, against 28,543 Greeks and in the whole sanjak of Serres 259,186 Bulgars to 50,298 Greeks. Indeed, the town of Serres is a Hellenized island in a Bulgarian sea. The town of Drama also has 432 Bulgars, 700 Greeks, and 1,500 Vlakhs but the Kaza of Drama numbers 11,016 Bulgars, 3,890 Greeks and

32—Report International Commission, p.p. 28, 30.

1,914 Vlakhs. That is to say, even in those districts of Macedonia where Greeks are to be found at all,—North of Thessaly and along the Ægean coast—they are mainly town merchants or else nomadic fisher-folk, while the native population, tilling the soil and christening village and mountain, and river and forest, is Bulgar.

"Of course only along the Ægean coast do the Greeks exceed the Bulgars in the towns. The Bulgar town population all over Macedonia is 214,260, against 52,080 Greeks, of whom 20,000 are in Salonica." 33

How is it that the Greeks are almost invariably found in the towns, as islands surrounded by a sea of Bulgarians? Would not the facts given in the section "Five Centuries of a Double Yoke," furnish us with the clue that these Greeks are nothing else but Hellenized Bulgarians? Such results from five hundred years of the most unscrupulous Greek propaganda, supported by the political regime of the unspeakable Turk, are only a little more than complete failure. The Bulgarian speaking Patriarchists form the connecting link in the evolution of the Bulgar into the Macedonian Greek. However, the Bulgarians are very generous. They do not wish to claim these renegade Bulgarians. They are more than willing to credit the Greek claims with these Hellenized Bulgars. The Bulgarians claim Macedonia on the basis of an overwhelming majority of self-conscious and self-confessed Bulgars.

In 1869-70, about eight years before the liberation of Bulgaria, Luben Karaveloff, a prominent Bulgarian man of letters wrote: "The Greeks show no interest in knowing what kind of people live in such a country as Macedonia. It is true that they say that the country formerly belonged to Greeks, and therefore ought to belong to them again. * * * But we are in the Nineteenth century and historical and canonical rights have lost all significance. Every people like every individual ought to be free, and every na-

33—Journal of Race Development, January, 1918, Prof. R. A. Tsanoff's paper on "Bulgaria's Case," p. 302.

tion has the right to live for itself. Thrace and Macedonia ought then to be Bulgarian since the people who live there are Bulgarians."

In spite of the very strong opposition of the Greek hierarchy, assisted by corrupt Turkish officials, the population of Macedonia fought for religious freedom from the ecclesiastical yoke of the Phanariotes, and when victory came in 1870, they joined the Bulgarian national church. Houses of worship were built, national schools sprang up even in the smallest villages. The teachers, native Macedonians, were not paid by a foreign propaganda organization, as was the case with the Greek, and after with the Servian schools, but by the people themselves. There were no *comitadjis* to terrorize the people to become Bulgarians. On the contrary, there were Greek intriguers and corrupt Turkish officials to scare them to remain Pseudo-Greeks. Almost all Greek dioceses lost their Bulgarian flocks. Though Bulgarian bishops were appointed to care for the new national church, the Greek Patriarch continued to appoint Greek bishops, notwithstanding the fact that the Greek constituency would not have justified even the appointment of a priest. If the political movement and afterwards the liberation of Bulgaria were delayed at least twenty years, the Greeks would have lost, perhaps, two-thirds of those whom they claim as Greeks in Macedonia. More than half of the so-called Greeks use the Bulgarian language as their mother tongue. The Phanariotes have coined out the term, "Bulgarophone Greeks" (Bulgarian-speaking Greeks), to designate the Bulgarians still adhering to the Greek Patriarchate. The writer was born in Thrace and spent seven years in Macedonia in the capacity of a Congregational home missionary. He has never met a genuine Greek or any other foreigner who could speak Bulgarian without being detected right away that he is a foreigner. But the Patriarchist Bulgarians speak the language just as naturally as their Exarchist brethren. But like the *Pomaks* (Mohammedan Bulgars) these *Grecomans* (Bulgaro-Greeks) are more bigoted than the genuine Greeks. They hate their true brethren, the Bulga-

rians. These Grecomans furnished the Turkish government with spies against the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization.

There was a Supreme Macedono-Adrianople Committee at Sofia, Bulgaria. Though its presidents were Macedonians, yet apparently this organization was in the hands of Official Bulgaria, and very often served the dynastic ends of the king. The Supreme Committee was far from satisfying the aims and ideals of the Macedonian population. Therefore, the necessity of a new organization in the midst of the people whose interests it was to serve. The Central Macedonian Committee was organized. Gotze Delcheff of Kukush, a few miles north of Salonica, was the soul of the movement. His official position was a school master, but his real work was to awaken and organize the population for an armed revolt against the Turkish misrule. His ideal was Macedonia for the Macedonians. He was a Socialist, and even constitutional kings were not much to his liking. The writer happened to be in Macedonia at the very conception of this organization. Gotze Delcheff was the principal of the national school of our town. The writer disagreeing with Delcheff as to methods of work, a pretty serious quarrel followed. As a result the writer was deprived of the honor of being one of the charter members of the Central Macedonian Committee. But later they embraced one another with a brotherly kiss, customary to the revolutionists. Delcheff's real mission was given publicity by a young man in a spree of drunkenness. He had to disappear, and from that time on canvassed the country secretly from one end to the other with an armed squad (his body-guard), and gave his whole time to the work of organizing and directing.

Official Greece and Servia opposed this movement because they considered it an enemy to their propaganda. While the organization was constantly growing many Macedonians, betrayed by Grecomans or other Turkish spies, took to the mountains, forming into armed bands of thirty or forty and waging guerrilla war on the Turkish army. More than 300,000 Turkish troops were constantly kept on the go chasing

the bands. The aim was to bankrupt Turkey economically. The bands also assisted in smuggling fire-arms and ammunitions from across the borders.

In 1897 Greece, deceiving herself, that the Macedonians will assist her by a revolt, provoked Turkey to war. "On the 9th and 10th of April Greek irregulars crossed the frontier either with a view to provoke hostilities or in the hope of fomenting a rising in Macedonia.

" * * * The Turkish forces had now drawn together and the Greeks were threatened on both flanks. In the evening (April 23) a general retreat was ordered, and the loose discipline of the Greek army was at once manifested. Rumors of disaster spread among the Greek ranks, and wild panic supervened. * * * The general **debacle** could not, however, be arrested, and in great disorder the mass of the Greek army fled southwards to Pharsala. There was no pursuit and the Turkish commander-in-chief did not reach Larisa till the 27th. Thus ended the first phase of the war, in which the Greeks showed tenacity of defence, which proved fruitless by reason of initially bad strategic dispositions entailing far too great dispersion, and also because there was no plan of action beyond a general desire to avoid risking a defeat which might prevent the expected risings in Macedonia and elsewhere. * * *

" * * * The Greek forces being much demoralized, the intervention of the tsar was invoked by telegraph; and the latter sent a personal appeal to the Sultan, who directed a suspension of hostilities. On the 20th (May) an armistice was arranged.

" * * * Under the terms of the treaty of peace, signed on the 20th of September, and arranged by the European powers, Turkey obtained an indemnity of L. T. 4,000,000, and a ratification of the Thessalian frontier, carrying with it some strategic advantage. History records few more unjustifiable wars than that which Greece gratuitously provoked." 34

The Macedonian organization was pretty well pre-

pared and could be of material assistance to the Greeks in harassing the Turkish lines of communication and causing a general disturbance in the country back of the fighting line. However, much as they hated the Turks, the population of Macedonia hated the Greeks more. The physical wrongs of the Turks were as nothing compared with the spiritual and intellectual crimes of the Greeks. The organization not only did not proclaim a revolt, but recalled the usual bands from the mountains, so that Turkey might have a free hand. Not even a Macedonian dog wagged its tail in assistance of the much-hated Greek. Thus the people of Macedonia once more let the Greeks and the world know that they are not Greeks.

Servia and Greece tried to win territory from Turkey, but both failed completely. Without the assistance of Bulgaria they could not gain an inch. They approached Bulgaria several times for a Balkan Alliance, and in 1912 succeeded in their plans. Bulgaria believed that her sworn enemies had come to their senses. The Balkan wars followed with the well known results. If Bulgaria knew of the treachery of her false allies, and that Macedonia would change a bad master for two worse ones, she would have spurned even the idea of alliance with Servia and Greece.

Before the Second Balkan war the Greeks were fully convinced that they cannot Hellenize the population of Macedonia, therefore they decided on the next best—extermination.

The International Commission had a fair opportunity to collect information and study the facts. Therefore, we will let these impartial and honest judges speak: "The facts which emerge clearly from our depositions are (1) that the village submitted from the first; (2) that it was sacked and burned; (3) that the Greek troops gave themselves up openly to a debauch of lust; (4) that many of the peasants were killed wantonly and without provocation." 35

"The great mass of evidence goes to show that

35—Report International Commission, p. 102.

there was nothing singular in the cases which the commission itself investigated. In one instance a number of Europeans witnessed the brutal conduct of a detachment of Greek regulars under three officers. Fifteen wounded Bulgarian soldiers took refuge in the Catholic convent of Paliorti, near Ghevgheli; and were nursed by the sisters. Father Alloati reported this fact to the Greek commandant, whereupon a detachment was sent to search the convent for a certain Bulgarian *voyevoda* (chief of bands) named Arghyr, who was not there. In the course of the search a Bulgarian Catholic priest, Father Trepche, and the Armenian doctor of the convent were severely flogged in the presence of the Greek officers. A Greek soldier attempted to violate a nun, and during the search a sum of L. T. 300 was stolen. Five Bulgarian women and a young girl were put to the torture, and a large number of peasants carried off to prison for no good reason. The officer in command threatened to kill Father Alloati on the spot and to burn down the convent. If such things could be done to Europeans in a building under the protection of the French flag, it is not difficult to believe that the Bulgarian peasants fared incomparably worse." 36

"The commission regrets that the attitude of the Greek government towards its work has prevented it from obtaining any official answer to the charges which emerge from this evidence. The broad fact that the whole of this Bulgarian region, for a distance of about one hundred miles, was devastated and nearly every village burned, admits no denial. Nor do we think that military necessity could be pleaded with any plausibility.* * * The Greeks did not wait for any provocation. * * * but everywhere burned the villages, step by step with their advance. The slaughter of peasant men could be defended only if they had been in the act of resistance with arms in their hands. No such explanation will fit the cases on which we have particularly laid stress, nor have any of the war correspondents who followed the

36—Report International Commission, p. 103.

Greek army reported conflicts along the main line of the Greek march with armed villagers. The violation of women admits of no excuse; it can only be denied." 37

"Denial unfortunately is impossible. No verdict which could be based on the evidence collected by the commission could be more severe than that which Greek soldiers have pronounced upon themselves. It happened that on the eve of the armistice (July 27) the Bulgarians captured the baggage of the Nineteenth Greek infantry regiment at Dobrinishte (Razlog.) It included its post bags, together with the file of its telegraphic orders, and some of its accounts. We were permitted to examine these documents at our leisure in the Foreign Office at Sofia. * * * We studied with particular care a series of twenty-five letters, which contained definite avowals by these Greek soldiers of the brutalities which they had practiced. Two members of the commission have some knowledge of modern Greek. We satisfied ourselves (1) that the letters (mostly illiterate and ill-written) had been carefully deciphered and honestly translated; (2) that the interesting portions of the letters were in the same handwriting as the addresses on the envelopes (which bore the official stamp) and the portions which related only personal news; (3) that no tampering with the manuscripts had been practiced. * * * " 38

"The letters require no commentary. Some of the writers boast of the cruelties practiced by the Greek army. Others deplore them. * * * Most of the letters dwell on the slaughter of non-combatants, including women and children. These few extracts, each from a separate letter, may suffice to convey their general tenor:

By order of the King we are setting fire to all the Bulgarian villages, because the Bulgarians burned the beautiful town of Serres, Nigrita, and several Greek villages. We have shown ourselves far more cruel than the Bulgarians. * * *

37—Report International Commission, p.p. 103, 104.

38—Report International Commission, p. 104.

Here we are burning the villages and killing the Bulgarians, both women and children.* * *

We took only a few (prisoners), and these we killed, for such are the orders we have received.

We have to burn the villages—such is the order—slaughter the young people and spare only the old people and the children. * * *

What is done to the Bulgarians is indescribable; also to the Bulgarian peasants. It was a butchery. There is not a Bulgarian town or village but is burned.

We massacre all the Bulgarians who fall into our hands, and burn the villages.

Of the 1,200 prisoners we took at Nigrita, only forty-one remain in the prisons, and everywhere we have been we have not left a single root of this race.

We picked out their eyes (five Bulgarian prisoners) while they were still alive.

The Greek army sets fire to all the villages where are Bulgarians and massacre all it meets.* * * God knows where this will end.

“These letters relieve us of the task of summing up evidence. From Kukush to the Bulgarian frontier the Greek army devastated the villages, violated the women, and slaughtered the non-combatant men. The order to carry out reprisals was evidently obeyed. We repeat, however, that these reprisals began before the Bulgarian provocation. * * * Systematically and in cold blood the Greeks burned one hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages and destroyed at least 16,000 Bulgarian homes. * * *” 39

Before we close this chapter we will give the testimony of Mr. H. M. Wallis, a member of the Society of Friends of England, who has made a special study of the region devastated by the Greeks during the Second Balkan war. His article “**The Devastation of Macedonia,**” was published in the **Quarterly Review**, April, 1914. Volume 220, p.p. 506-523. “The advance of the Greek army has been held up to the admiration of military men as a miracle of speed. Its slowness is the fact which calls for explanation; two furlongs per hour is no Marathon race, but it is all King Constantine was able to exact from a force outnumbering its opponents by four or five to one. Why? Because

39—Report International Commission, p.p. 105, 106.

his gallant boys had something else to do. * * * *
What went on behind the line of Greek advance no pen may tell. The maltreatment of Bulgarian women seems to have been a specialty of these dastards, who during their month of 'fighting' could never, as General Ivanoff assures me, be got to charge with the bayonet."

Professor Monroe says: "The majority of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Bulgarians." Then he asks: "Where are these Macedonian Bulgars today?" Mr. Wallis answers they have disappeared. "So far as human agency can effect it, they have been obliterated. By shot, shell, and bayonet, by torture and fire, by proscription, imprisonment, and forcible exile the whole non-Greek element has been destroyed or chased out. * * *"

"Whither? Into Bulgaria. * * * I believe that of approximately 130,000 refugees, who are now King Ferdinand's guests, and are fed by his bounty and the bounty of the Bulgarians, there are about 100,000 whose homes were in what is now New Greece."

"King Constantine had a singular opportunity of proving to Europe the capacity, civilization and magnanimity of himself and his people. He preferred to play the role of Tamerlane; he has made a desert and calls it 'Greece.'"

"After five centuries of Turkish rule the Bulgars of Macedonia still retained their language, customs and nationality. The brutal methods of denationalization employed by the Greeks and Servians merit the severe condemnation of all civilized nations." 40

WHAT DOES BULGARIA EXPECT FROM THE PEACE CONFERENCE?

In his speech opening the Fourth Liberty Loan President Wilson expressed the following sentiments: "We are fighting for a reorganization of the world upon the basis of justice and fair dealing. We are fighting against the medieval and dynastic idea that might is the only force that regulates the activities of

40—Bulgaria and Her People, by Will S. Monroe, p.p. 394, 395.



THE BALKAN STATES AS THEY SHOULD BE.

3. When Rumania, Greece and Serbia claim the right to unite their own people is it unjust that Bulgaria should be given overwhelmingly Bulgar Macedonia and solidly Bulgar Dobrudja? Certainly our boys did not sacrifice their lives for revenge and injustice. We should not punish Bulgaria by leaving innocent and martyred Macedonia under Greek and Servian oppression.

nations. * * * We propose to establish the principles of the Declaration of Independence. No nation is to conquer and destroy another nation simply because it has the power to do so. * * * ' In this same speech Mr. Wilson invites leaders of other nations to add their views to his own. Mr. Balfour, who voices the public opinion of England as eloquently as Mr. Wilson voices that of the United States, has promptly accepted that invitation.

In a recent speech he says: "The other essential preliminary to the establishment of a League of Nations is the definite reorganization of the world on the basis of freedom of peoples and of national rights. * * * " Mr. Balfour demands that the Polish people be made a nation once more; that Italians outside of Italy be restored to the Italian nation, that the 3,000,000 Greeks who are not nationally a part of Greece shall resume their membership in the Greek state, that all the Serbs outside of Serbia shall be brought under the national banner, that Alsace-Lorraine be restored to France, and all like injustices and crimes committed in the past shall be undone." 41

Is the question of Macedonia intentionally omitted, or is it included in the expression "all like injustices and crimes committed in the past shall be undone?" Will the Peace Conference undo the unpardonable crimes against the Bulgarian nation committed at Berlin in 1878, and at Bucharest in 1913? Is the square deal and granting of favors to be only for the small nations which by mere accident happened to be on the side of the Entente, or is the principle to be applied all around? If so, Bulgaria expects:

1. When the Peace Conference gives to Rumania Bessarabia and Transylvania with their a little over 50 per cent of Rumanians, and, perhaps, Bukowina, with only 35 per cent Rumanians and 40 per cent of Ruthenians (Ukrainians), that it should require Rumania to hand over to Bulgaria the whole of Dobruja, which is almost 100 per cent Bulgarian.

41—"The Wilson-Balfour Basis of Peace." In the World's Work, November, 1918, p. 10.

2. When Servia is given the chance to unite her people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and perhaps form a Jugo-Slav Federation with her kinsfolk in Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, Carniola, Istria and Goritz, that she should be asked to return purely Bulgarian Macedonia, which she unjustly grabbed from Bulgaria.

3. When Greece is given possession of all the islands of the Ægean and the western coast of Asia Minor inhabited by her own people, that she should be invited to step out of Macedonia 75 per cent of whose Christian population is confessedly Bulgarian, and the remainder Hellenized Bulgars. By this Christian Europe will give a chance to the over 100,000 exiled Macedonian people, the remnant from the Greek slaughter, to return to their desolate homes and begin life anew.

4. When the Turk is excused to leave Europe, for he has proved long ago his unfitness to be an European, Bulgaria should be allowed to annex her people, who form the bulk of the inhabitants of Thrace, even to the Tchataldja lines.

Bulgaria expects the support of France, because she knows from experience what it means to be unjustly dismembered. She has one Alsace-Lorraine. Bulgaria has many.

Bulgaria expects the support of England, because now or never is the time for Great Britain to correct the great wrong she committed toward Bulgaria and Macedonia through her prime minister, Beaconsfield, in 1878. As one of the Bulgarian poets of the present generation has said:

Undo that you did at Berlin,
Come and help us!
Once do justice pay your debt,
Beaconsfield we shall forget,
God, too, might forgive you yet,—
Come, O come, and help us.

From America Bulgaria cannot expect anything else but justice. America, through her missionaries,

Robert College, and other American institutions of learning has done more than all other agencies put together, to start Bulgaria in the path of righteousness and real democracy.

Suffering and bleeding Macedonia cries to America:

Land of Washington and Lincoln,
Come and help us!
Land of brave men, true and free,
Land and home of liberty,
Shall we vainly hope in thee?—
Come, O come and help us! 42



TO NEW BULGARIA.

Bulgaria, beloved country mine,
My jealous hopes and dreams do prophesy
Thy weal and blessing, coming, by and by.
A sceptre vastly stretched on land and brine,
The mighty sway of Rome may ne'er be thine;
But knowledge, freedom, virtue, truth—all lie
Within thy reach, as God is God on high;
These make a people great, O Mother mine!

Be lover thou of these! And ever aim
To be among the nations of the earth
A people free, and eminent for worth;;
That good men may, observing thy estate,
In admiration glad with truth exclaim,
"Behold a people small, yet truly great!"

Boston, Mass., 1893.

—S. K. VATRALSKY.

RESOLUTION

Of the Macedono-Bulgarian Convention, held at Chicago, Ill., On December 1-6, 1918, for the Freedom of Macedonia and the Unity of the Bulgarian People.

**Honorable Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States of America,
Paris, France.**

Mr. President:

We, the undersigned, authorized by the two hundred and one delegates, representing 40,000 Bulgarians from Macedonia, now residing in various places throughout the United States of America, and assembled in convention in Chicago, Illinois, December 1st-5th, 1918, for the purpose of exchanging views about the future fate of our land and people, consider it, before all, our sacred duty to express our profound gratitude to and heart-felt thanks toward the great American people for the kind hospitality shown us from the day of our arrival in this country—an asylum for the oppressed.

Furthermore, we would wish to lay emphasis upon the invaluable services of the American pioneers and missionaries and the splendid influence of their institutions among our people during the past seventy years.

We take the liberty to submit for the earnest consideration of the President of the United States of America, the following facts:

First: We were born, raised and brought up in the various towns and villages of Macedonia, such as Scopie (Uskub), Tetova, Debr, Ochrida, Kostur (Kastoria), Lerin, Voden, Bitolia (Monastir), Prilep, Veles, Ghevgeli, Dorian, Kukush, Radovich, Shtip, Maleshevo, Kutchane, Kratovo, Koumanovo, Palanka, Demir-Hissar, Seres, Drama, Salonika, Ressen, Tikvesch, Enidje-Vardar and their respective districts, all of which are at present under Greek and Servian yoke. Driven out of our homes by the terrible Turkish misrule and oppression, we found refuge in America, the land of Liberty, where we enjoy freedom and justice. Yet, we cannot forget the land of our fathers where

we have left our wives and children and our homes—this being the most sacred duty of every man.

Second: We, who for more than half a century had struggled against the Turks and fought for liberty lived to see our ideals frustrated by the terms of that ignominious treaty of Bukharest (1913), against the injustice of which immediately raised a voice of protest from America. This treaty as an act of violence brought new painful complications in the Balkans and when the great war broke out threw Bulgaria on the side of Germany against Servia, a circumstance that benefited, for the time being, Germany alone.

Third: We are a part of that people whose fathers and forefathers struggled against the yoke of the Greek church and long before the commonwealth of Bulgaria was brought into existence were the founders and builders of our church organization—the Bulgarian Exarchate in Constantinople.

Fourth: We, the Macedonian Bulgarians, living in the United States of America form only a small part of 1,200,000 Bulgarians in Macedonia, who speak nothing but Bulgarian, **BUT WE WISH IT TO BE KNOWN THAT OUR WILL IS EXPRESSED HEREIN FREE OF ANY FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND PRESSURE WHATSOEVER.**

Fifth: We shall say nothing herein whatever relative to the opinions of scientists, travelers and ethnographers who have ascertained the Bulgarian nationality of the Slavic population of Macedonia, but we take the liberty to declare that it would be absolutely unjust to leave us under Servian and Greek yoke now after the principle of **SELF-DETERMINATION AND NATIONAL UNITY** has been so solemnly proclaimed.

In view of all the above facts the Convention adopted the following

RESOLUTION:

In the name of the great principles which the President of the United States of America has proclaimed and has made the basis of his world policies the Convention most respectfully begs the President of the United States of America to kindly exercise his

best efforts at the Peace Conference so that our native land, Macedonia, be included within the future boundaries of our common fatherland—Bulgaria, and prevent from accomplishing a great injustice those who will again try to break up our land and subject us to foreign domination.

The Convention places explicit confidence in President Wilson and trusts that he will gladly defend a just cause, it being one of his sacred purposes to secure freedom for every nation and thus insure a safe and lasting peace for the future generations.

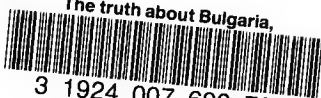
The Convention sincerely believes that the President of the United States of America will take a firm stand in behalf of our freedom and national unity and wishes him success in his great mission.

Respectfully submitted,

REV. DAVID NACKOFF,
President of the Convention.
ALEX. BELIEFF,
Secretary of the Convention.

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The truth about Bulgaria,



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